

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 213855

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66623

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JSNYDER

APPROVED BY:S/-O:GTWOHIE

EUR:KSHIRLEY (PHONE)

----- 121598

R 302254Z OCT 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

XMT AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 213855

EXDIS

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT PARIS 27844 SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC INFO BONN
ROME OCTOBER 26, 1973: QUOTE

S E C R E T PARIS 27844

EXDIS

BONN AND ROME FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, PFOR

SUBJECT: STOESSEL CONVERSATION WITH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR

SUMMARY. ASSISTANCE SECRETARY STOESSEL, ACCOMPANIED BY
AMBASSADOR IRWIN, CALLED ON QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR DE
MARGERIE OCTOBER 22, 1973. DE MARGERIE SAID THAT FOLLOWING
PERIOD OF SOME SUSPICION AMONG FRANCE, EIGHT AND US, ATMO-
SPHERE NOW MUCH HEALTHIER. EMERGING EC VITALITY IMPORTANT
TO OFFSET SAGGING EUROPEAN WILL TO MAINTAIN DEFENSE.

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JE MARGERIE APPEALED FOR US UNDERSTANDING DURING PRESENT
"DELICATE" EC GROWTH PHASE. FRANCE SUPPORTS SECRETARY'S EFFORTS
TO KEEP DETENTE INTACT, BUT SOME SUSPECTED US USING DETENTE ISSUE
TO GATHER SUPPORT FOR ITS ME APPROACH. FRENCH SURPRISED OVR

FORCEFUL PURSUIT OF US AMENDMENTS TO EC DRAFT SINCE JOBERT THOUGHT HE HAD UNDERSTANDING WITH SECRETARY THAT US WOULD ACCEPT WEAKER EC DRAFT IN EXCHANGE FOR STRONG NATO DOCUMENT. US SHOULD NOT REGARD NINE'S POSITION AGAINST "PARTNERSHIP" AS MEANING LACK OF TRUST OR DESIRE FOR "CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP" WITH US. END SUMMARY.

1. STOESSEL OPENED THE CONVERSATION COMMENTING BRIEFLY THAT ALTHOUGH THE ISSUES WERE NOT EASY SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE, THAT THE US HAD NOW TO REVIEW THE RESULTS.

2. DE MARGERIE SPOKE OF AN EVOLUTION AMONG THE NINE. ALL SPRING AND SUMMER THE NINE HAD BEEN DIVIDED. DR. KISSINGER'S APRIL INITIATIVE HAD NOT MADE THINGS EASY FOR THE NINE BECAUSE IT RESULTED IN A DIVIDEDNESS AMONG THEM WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS WITH US. THE AUGUST HOLIDAYS SEEMED TO HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE. PERHAPS THE FUTILITY OF QUARRELING BECAME MORE EVIDENT. IN ANY CASE THE NINE SEEMED NOW TO REALIZE NECESSITY TO REAFFIRM THE EC PERSONALITY. OTHERWISE THE EC WOULD HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE ON WORLD SCENE. RELATIONS WITH THE US AT HEART OF MATTER. PUTTING IT BLUNTLY, FRANCE'S PARTNERS HAD SUSPECTED FRANCE OF WANTING A CONFRONTATION WITH US, AND FRENCH WERE SUSPICIOUS OF EC PARTNERS' DEALINGS WITH THE US. IT WAS HARD TO GET THE NINE TO THINK OF THEIR COMMON INTERESTS. NOW THERE IS LESS SUSPICION AMONG THE NINE; THE RELATIONSHIP OF NINE IS MATURING. NONE OF THEM WANTS CONFRONTATION WITH US. THEIR VIEWS ARE BEGINNING TO CONVERGE ON THE SUBJECT OF EC-US RELATIONS. ALL WANT BETTER RELATIONS WITH US. THE EIGHT NOW REALIZE FRANCE NOT ATTEMPTING TO PROPEL THEM INTO CONFRONTATION WITH US. ALSO, FRANCE IS GETTING OVER IMMATURE REACTION OF SUSPECTING MANY US MOVES.

3. THIS EMERGING DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A COMMON RELATIONSHIP WITH US AND THE EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION THAT THE EC
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AND US HAVE HAD IN NEW YORK AND COPENHAGEN, AS WELL AS IN SOME BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS, ON DRAFT PRINCIPLES HAVE COME, IN DE MARGERIE'S VIEW, AT IMPORTANT MOMENT. THE SITUATION IN EUROPE IS NOT HEALTHY. THERE IS A "FERMENT OF WEAKENING." SEVERAL COUNTRIES ARE CUTTING MILITARY BUDGETS. EUROPEAN SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS ARE INCLINING THIS WAY. DANISH AND DUTCH POLITICIANS, E.G. FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO SPEAK OUT FOR A GREATER DEFENSE EFFORT. THERE IS EVEN SOME HESITATION ON DEFENSE ISSUES IN GERMANY. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT IS TRYING, BUT CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN DETERIORATING IN RECENT YEARS. ITALY TODAY IS ALMOST A MORAL PROBLEM. THE TREND IN HOLLAND HAS ECHOS IN BELGIUM. THUS, IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO

CREATE A FEELING OF VITALITY AMONG NINE AND FOR NINE TO ESTABLISH NEW AND GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH US.

4. DE MARGERIE HAPPY FRANCE TOOK INITIATIVE IN SUBMITTING PAPER IN NATO. THIS ACT HELPED DISPEL SUSPICIONS AND FEARS OF FRANCE'S MOTIVES BY THE EIGHT. IT ALSO HELPED TOWARD SOLIARITY OF NINE. HE BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT FOR US THAT THERE BE THIS EMERGENCE OF VITALITY IN EC BECAUSE NATO DOES NOT ALWAYS SHOW SIMILAR VITALITY.

5. FRANCE AND ENGLAND WER TRYING TO INJECT WILL POWER AND STRENGTH INTO OTHER EUROPEAN PARTNERS. HE THOUGHT THIS ESSENTIAL AND HOPED US WOULD SEE THE POSTIVE VALUES OF A VIGOROUS AND UNITED EC EVEN IF CERTAIN ACTIONS OR ASPECTS OF THE EC DISPLEASE THE US.

6. ALTHOUGH THE DANES WORRY ABOUT THE USSR AND THEIR RESOLVE IS WEAKENED BY THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR SCANDINAVIAN PARTNERS, DE MARGERIE SENSES A POSSIBLE CHANGE IN THEIR ATTITUDE. BEING IN THE EC CHAIR HAS MADE THEM FEEL MORE RESPONSIBLE.

7. WHOLE ATMOSPHERE IN EC IS BEGINNING TO BE MORE HEALTHY, AND THIS IS BENEFICIAL TO WESTERN SECURITY AND VIS-A-VIS USSR.

8. AFTER STOESSEL COMMENTED THAT THE FRENCH STILL SEEMED TOO SUSPICIOUS IN GENERAL AND VERY SENSITIVE TO THE WORD PARTNERSHIP, THAT THE US HAD AND STILL WANTED TO ENCOURAGE EUROPEAN UNITY, DE MARGERIE OBSERVED THAT FRENCH
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WERE FINICKY ABOUT WORDS, OFTEN TOO MUCH SO, THAT THEIR LEGAL TRADITIONS MADE THEM CAREFUL OR WORDS. HE HIMSELF DOESN'T ALWAYS SYMPATHIZE WITH THIS HABIT, BUT EMOTIONS OF HIS COLLEAGUES ARE OFTEN AROUSED BY WORDS; E.G. "PARTNERSHIP" IS A WORD CHARGED WITH ELECTRIC POTENTIAL, WHICH CAN BE VIEWED AND INTERPRETED DIFFERENTLY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. IF THE DISCUSSION ON THE PROPOSED DECLARATION GOES ON TOO LONG, IT MAY APPEAR TO THE PUBLIC THAT WE ARE QUARRELING. IT COULD ALSO BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO REACH A COMPROMISE.

9. DE MARGERIE CONCLUDED HIS RATHER LONG COMMENT BY HARKING BACK TO HIS THOUGHT THAT SOMETHING WAS HAPPENING AMONG THE NINE. THEY WERE DRAWING CLOSER, WORKING TOGETHE MORE HARMONIOUSLY. IT WOULD BE SAD IF THIS MOVEMRNT TOWARD UNITY WERE NOT UNDERSTOOD IN US. IT WAS A DELICATE TIME FOR THE NINE DURING WHICH THEY HOPED FOR US ENCOURAGEMENT, HE MUSED WHETHER THERE WAS A LACK OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE US CERTAINLY THERE WERE NOT THE TRADITIONAL AND PERSONAL LINKS AS BETWEEN THE US AND UNITED KINGDOM. HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH WERE NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD IN THE US.

10. IN AN EXCHANGE ON THE ECONOMIC SECTION OF THE TEXT, DE MARGERIE DID NOT KNOW WHEN IT WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE NINE. HE SAID THERE WERE STILL SOME PROBLEMS, THAT THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES HAD TO DISCUSS THE TEXT, THAT IT HAD YET TO REFLECT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. IN ANY CASE, THEY WOULD DO THE BEST THEY COULD. HE QUESTIONED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THERE WERE AN AGREED TEXT AND THE PRESIDENT DELAYED HIS COMING. THE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THE TEXT WERE LEAKED PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT'S VISITS.

11. STOESSEL EMPHASIZED THAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT IT WAS THE BEGINNING AND NOT THE CULMINATION OF A PROCESS, OF A RELATIONSHIP.

12. DE MARGERIE REFERRED TO THE REFERENCE TO DETENTE IN THE EC DRAFT. THEY HAD TRIED TO PUT FORWARD A REASONABLE PROPOSAL, BUT THE US-PROPOSED AMENDMENT CREATES PROBLEMS. IN ADDITION, THE RUMSFELD DEMARCHE IN NATO AROUSED
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ANXIETY AMONG THE NINE AND GAVE THEM FOOD FOR THOUGHT. SOME MEMBERS HAD FEELING THAT CONCEPT OF DETENTE WAS BEING USED TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR US'S OWN NATIONAL APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AN APPROACH WITH WHICH ALL DID NOT AGREE. FRANCE DIDN'T CONSIDER DETENTE DEAD AS RESULT OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION; THEY APPROVED AND SUPPORTED DR. KISSINGER'S EFFORTS TO KEEP DETENTE FROM BREAKING DOWN. COMMENTS IN THE MEDIA DID NOT REPRESENT INFORMED GOVERNMENT OPINION. HE HOPED NEITHER SIDE, I.E. EUROPE NOR US WOULD PUSH TOO FAR ON SENSITIVE ISSUES. THE US SHOULD NOT VIEW THE NINE'S POSITION AGAINST "PARTNERSHIP" AS MEANING LACK OF TRUST OR LACK OF DESIRE FOR A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP.

13. THERE FOLLOWED A DISCUSSION IN WHICH STOESSEL EXPLAINED, BACKED AND EMPHASIZED THE US POSITION AS STATED BY RUMSFELD.

14. STOESSEL SAID THAT THE US WELCOMES FRANCE'S EXCELLENT FIRST NATO DRAFT. WE APPRECIATED FRANCE'S INITIATIVE AND THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT WAS TAKEN. THERE WERE HOWEVER, ADDITIONS WHICH WE UNDERSTOOD OTHER COUNTRIES WISHED TO MAKE AND WE HAD SOME OF OUR OWN. AMONG OUR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS WERE THOSE RELATING TO BURDEN SHARING AND MBFR. BURDEN SHARING WAS VERY IMPORTANT FROM POINT OF VIEW OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND CONGRESS. IF US IS TO BE ABLE TO KEEP ITS FORCES IN EUROPE, THERE MUST BE EFFECTIVE BURDEN SHARING

15. DE MARGERIE SAID THE FRENCH VIEW WAS THAN BURDEN SHARING WAS EPISODIC AND NOT PROPER FOR A DECLARATION

OF PRINCIPLES. AS FOR MBFR, THE LONGER THE TALKS HAVE CONTINUED, THE MORE CONCERNED HAS FRANCE BECOME. HE SAW THE ADVANTAGES TO THE US, E.G. ATTITUDES IN CONGRESS, BUT FRANCE IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT PSYCHOLOGICAL RESULTS IN EUROPE. HE THINKS MBFR MORE DANGEROUS THAN CSCE AND THAT IT MAY ALREADY BE AFFECTING DENMARK AND HOLLAND. ON THE OTHER HAND HE REALIZES, AND JOBERT HAS SAID, THAT EUROPE MUST BE VERY AWARE OF A STATE OF EUPHORIA FOLLOWING CSCE.

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16. DE MARGERIE REFERRED TO THE FORCEFULNESS WITH WHICH STOESSEL HAD PUSHED AT COPENHAGEN FOR INCLUSION OF THE US AMENDMENTS IN THE EC DRAFT. THIS SURPRISED THE FRENCH AS THEY THOUGHT THERE WAS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEIR MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT IF THE NATO DRAFT WERE A STRONG ONE, THE US COULD ACCEPT A WEAKER EC DRAFT. THE FRENCH HAD THEREFORE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN SUBMITTING A NATO DRAFT WITH WHICH US SEEMED PLEASED. EVEN SO, THE US CONTINUED TO PRESS AT COPENHAGEN RE THE EC DRAFT. IRWIN COMMENTED THAT THE US WAS PRESSING NO HARDER TO INCLUDE CERTAIN ITEMS IN THE EC DRAFT THAN FRANCE WAS TO EXCLUDE CERTAIN ITEMS FROM THE NATO DRAFT.

17. IN RESPONSE TO STOESSEL'S QUERY RE PAPER ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY, DE MARGERIE SAID EC WAS STILL WORKING ON IT, THAT THEY WANT IT OUT BEFORE THE EC/US DECLARATION, THAT HE HOPES IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE US.

18. RE PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPEAN MONETARY AND ECONOMIC UNION, DE MARGERIE REGRETTED THERE HAD NOT BEEN MORE PROGRESS. HE THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN REAL, IF MODEST, PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL COLLABORATION AMONG THE NINE. HE SAID SOME COULD BE CYNICAL AND SAY THAT THE US HAD HELPED EC TO COME TOGETHER, BUT HE WAS ONE WHO REGRETTED ANY ELEMENT OF POLEMICS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE.

19. AFTER REVIEW ABOVE, STOESSEL MAY WISH TO BROADEN DISTRIBUTION.

20. NOTE FOR ROME: FOR ASST. SECRETARY STOESSEL IF STILL IN ROME.
IRWIN UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE213855
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750020-1186
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731066/abqcejiu.tel
Line Count: 266
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STOESSEL CONVERSATION WITH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
TAGS: PFOR, FR, US, EEC, NATO, (STOESSEL, WALTER J JR), (DE MARGERIE)
To: ALL NATO CAPITALS
DUBLIN
EC BRUSSELS
XMT BONN
PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

